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AUTHOR Jones, Kelsey A.
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ABSTRACT

Economic, legal, and socialization structures have emerged in response to the demands of the U.S. economic system and those whose job it is to protect and promote the interests of the current dominating classes and structures in our society. These structures contribute to the socially dysfunctional behavior of groups who are inadequately prepared for the competitive struggle for economic and cultural survival. This contributes to a lack of self-esteem and helps to propagate an underclass in U.S. society. The inclusion of blacks in the dominant structures may make a small qualitative difference in the system, but will not make a qualitative difference in terms of the functioning of that dominant system. Such measures as a "Career Criminal Squad" or a "Repeat Offenders Court" will not induce the criminals to alter their sense of self-worth or provide motivation for change. Unless the United States develops resocializaton processes and identifies individual support factors that operate within the family unit and the educational process, the emerging underclass will become institutionalized in U.S. society. (PPB)

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Dynamics and Diversity: Exploring Implications for Accountability In Crime, Drugs, Public and Social Policy

This paper offers an opportunity for an excursion into issues, the identification of the stakes in our investments in an assessment of theaters of responsibility

Presented

at

The National Roundtable

of

Black Scholars, Educators and Professionals

in

The Administration of Justice

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
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by

Kelsey A. Jones
Professor and Chairman
The Department of Criminal Justice
College of Liberal and Fine Arts
University of the District of Columbia
Washington, D. C.

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The Introduction
(Orienting an Approach)

Approximately three years ago, during a process of escalating demonstrations, here in Washington, against apartheid in South Africa, I was struck with an observation that I wish to share with you at this time. "African people from a continental origin (a particularity) gives dimension to all African peoples (globally). This has always been true for other racial, ethnic, national and cultural groups. It is, however, significant that the demonstrations took shape around a pluralism in this country...Black, White, Jew, Gentile, Moslem Buddhist, Humanist, etc. (Jones, 1985, pp. 1, 2). Nevertheless, at that moment, in that context, it became an occasion for me to affirm the notion that it is only in living deeply into my ethnicity (cultural tradition) can I rise in a true encounter in the pluralism and ecumenism of the life condition of each of the other whom I meet (Ibid., p. 2). Not withstanding the scholarly works of Daniel P. Moynihan's "Beyond the Melting Pot" and Michael Novak's "The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics", the issues of identification, responsibility and accountability - for the plight of Black Americans - should be clearly focused in the role and function of black involvement and black investment.

It is important to reflect upon the experience of the Black American from the point of view of our behavior; specifically, but not

exclusively, as it is observed by others within the group of orientation as well as, the broader spectrum of the societal framework of adaptation. Harry Stack Sullivan (1953), in his "Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry", offers a strong suggestion for the technical refinement of the psychiatrist that I propose for both the justice scholar and educator, as well as for the critical observance of the concerns we now face. Sullivan suggests the refinement of the psychiatrist as:

> "...participant observer interacting with his patients in the context of life as it has to be lived." (p.II.)

Sullivan proposes that the psychiatrist grasp information about living, presumably a vision of the more expanded parameters of the human enterprise, as well as insights about the patient - his needs and necessities - for the continuation of the developmental responsibilities of life. In other words, what is needed is an understanding of the life of the individual and all of his interactions. Viewing the problems of crime, violence, victimization, the drug phenomena, economic, political, emotional, psychological, communal, structural, systemic and institutional deprivations, along with teenaged preqnancy, from the group of orientation, the black community requires this analysis - in historical perspective. We must accept our past and appropriate the dictates of the demand for responsibility to the now that is and the now which is to come. Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., (1969) offers an exciting approach to this possibility.

> "...since man is both the object of study and the observer doing the study the

relationship between the analyst and his subject matter is an important consideration in the social sciences (p.8).

For Berkhofer, this distinction is crucial in the social sciences, the center of the controversy over methodology and as an explantion in the study of human behavior. The problem may be approached in three dimensions. Firstly, there is the possibility for a behavioral approach to an investigation of the past based on the manifestation of human conduct. This method allows for an analysis of the observable, a critical assessment of the quantifiable characterizations that could well be classified. Secondly, the observer may reflect upon the motives, intentions, ideals and feelings of the subject(s) under observation. The distinction is that the observer in his conceptualization attributes or gives meaning through an interpretation of the mainfestation. On the other hand, the observer concludes that the manifestations are the effects of the cause or condition of the internal components. Finally, the observer may accept the validity of the data by the actor - the subject of the inquiry. These data can be appropriately refined from language (mode of self expression) as well as the symbolic style of the individual or group's demeanor. Language and symbols combine to define reality, dimensions that assume a symbiotic relationship in providing the categories for power and meaning in grasping the human predicament. Prior to integration, the Black was generally equated with interactions that occurred within the black residential/life community. This was a community of self

orientation as well as self containment. The powerful influences of professional physicians, dentists, lawyers, educators, entrepreneurs, etc., interfaced and interacted with the presence and experience of laborers, domestics/homemakers, retired and the inactive.

George Herbert Mead supports the notion that groups define for the child his expectations and the kind of person he is. The generalized other, for Mead, is the individual's internalization of the role behavior of others and their expectation of himself. Integration has provided for the evacuation of a significant degree of the impact of positive role behavior and left a community to interact within the context of its newly found character of improverishment. Integration without distribution, in forms of economic, political, social, cultural and policy resources, means deficiency in impact and meaning in states of being and behavior. We must focus not only upon the developmental deficiencies of young black men and women during the various stages of their psycho-sexual progression; but, also, life demands as well as psycho-social concerns and deploy the sum total of our resources to redirect the existing trends. (Jones, 1986, pp. 2, 3).

Drugs: Social and Cultural Factors
the Emergence of a Cast Class Ordered Sub-Culture

The present state of our lives is caught between the extraordinary possibilities of coming to serious terms with our present predicament,

or to perish with the notion that we can survive within a community of thought without direction. We must come to realistic terms with the epidemic problems of drugs that embrace each of us where we live, the places where we function and the relationships we boldly hold to be significant. Drugs, its culture - the participants who allow the phenomena to ebb and flow throughout their lives - behave as if the shared reality of our society is not the world of their choice or values. We, therefore, need to look at that powerfull force. Perhaps, the vision from our orientation, the policy procedures of our political and legal obligations, and the value framework of our initial orientation, lay claims upon us by professional identification and adaptation, that seemingly have made us a breed apart from the drug intensive population. We must begin to grapple with the painful task that their realities are not presumed by them to be our realities. Perhaps, we can rationalize their claims in the same manner that B. F. Skinner (1984) responds to the notion "it is said (that) Plato discovered the mind, but it would be more accurate to say that he invented one version of it" (p.31). However, there appears to be cogent evidence to support the notion that whether we are talking about inventions, machinations, or whatever, our youth and young adults are operating from a different view or perception of the view we,

the legitimate members of the legal community perceive. The issue is one of values. We must begin to relate to their assumptions, the visions that support their assumptions and the behaviors that exist as personal extensions. This is NOT to say that we must *agree*; but, we must *relate*. Our youth and young adults are rejecting the pain they perceive in our ongoing, seemingly endless struggle to make it - and to endlessly struggle to make ends meet. They are denying the pain, rejecting its reality and totally disassociating from the experience. In the process of disassociating, they are *assuming* innocence and are *initiating* behaviors that become by products of this activity (Jones, 1988, p.1). We must find a way of getting into the very fabric of their reality.

Victor Frankl has observed (1963)

> "...There are some authors who contend that meanings and values are nothing but defense mechanisms, reaction formations and sublimations." But as for myself, I would not be willing to live merely for the sake of my defense mechanisms nor would I be ready to die merely for the sake of my reaction formations. Many, however, are able to live and even die for the sake of their ideals and values (pp. 155-156).

JUSTICE SYSTEMS
Social and Public Policy Implications

It is the total responsibility of a Black Community collective to participate in the understanding of justice systems from a conceptual base that

addresses the right of each citizen to live in an open and free society with relatively diminishing fear, and a minimum resistance to movement and self expression.

This position, of course, tends to be normative - a construct of community which projects an identification with the ideals of the interpersonal and the collective. It does not, on the other hand, acknowledge the fundamental contradiction inherent in the system of justice in this country. The Criminal Justice System is presumably a sub-system, a component in a larger and more intricate network of societal infrastructures and patterns. It claims, as its primary responsibility, the task of working with individuals whose societal participation has been characterized by dysfunctional behavior. These are the pawns of environmental impoverishment, persons of defective self images, low self-esteem, inappropriately suited for the competitive struggles of economic and cultural survival, and oftentimes the children of neglect.

Richard Quinney (1980), in his Class, State and Crime suggests that the roots of neglect are endemic to the very nature of the governmental system which gives structure to life in this country.

> *...While the socialist revolution and the spiritual reformation continue within the dialectics of capitalist development, the further development of the source of its true being. The modern capitalist state, in particular, attempts to establish the general framework for the further development of the capitalist system. And the state under late capitalism, in ensuring capitalist development, reproduces and even heightens the exploitative and alienating conditions. The problems generated by the capitalist system are increased with the further development of capitalism.*

> *The repressive apparatus of the state becomes ever more important in the development of capitalism in the attempt to regulate the class struggle. Policies of control - especially crime control are instituted and can be solved only by social and economic changes that go beyond capitalist reforms. Criminal Justice, as the euphemism for controlling class struggle and administering Legal repression, becomes a major social policy in the advanced stages of capitalism.*
>
> *Emerging within the political economy of late capitalism is a political economy of criminal justice. The political economy of criminal justice is one of the fundamental characteristics of advanced capitalism. To understand its various features is to understand a crucial part of the capitalist system. Criminal justice is a capitalist response to the contradictions of late capitalism (cited in Jones', " The Shifting of Operational Principles...", p. 4).*

Quinney's argument pushes the critical thinker to examine and re-examine the justification of the legal system and the ordered structures of our control oriented society. Change is difficult because it is readily perceived as "disorder", requiring the impositon of order for its focus; thereby, returning it to another and more subtle form of control. This presupposes the difficulty of an internal critique for change other than adaptation, and raises the need for another perspective for action (Jones, The Context of the Administration of Justice, pp. 6, 7).

Toward a Paradigm of Creative Struggle

Let us, for a moment, explore some implications from a fresh perspective that engages the struggle between "policy formation and the elaboration of structure". Given the central assumption underlying our argument, developed thus far, we can pursue the notion that structures emerge in response to the dictate to promote and protect the interests or investments of policy shapers, the individuals who represent the dominant

class or category of owners and controllers of the means and excesses in legal jurisdictions. Given the relative validity of this position, "the behavior of managerial level types is a function of policy formation, an extension of the interests of the owners and controllers of the means and excesses in a legal jurisdiction. Secondly, the client population of the Administration of Justice, 49% Black, 23% Hispanic and 28% non Black, exists as an extension of the contradiction(s), and realities of the communities represented by the persons incarcerated or controlled within this system.

One of the clear justice issues at least for me, is whether a Black in one of these managerial positions makes any significant or *quantitative* difference in terms of the nature and manner of the administration of the institution, structure or program? There are, of course, *qualitative* differences - the onset of perceptions and feelings of a peculiar sense of caring concern through personal and group identification. But, *where's the beef* (the quantitative difference)?

The implications for public policy seem clear. Public sentiment, whether a creature of the political order or an accurate barometer of a cross section of citizens' opinions, is moving the justice system toward what Michael Smith, Executive Director of the Vera Institute, New York, calls "selective incapacitation." A clear model for this emerging dimension in justice systems may be found in an article written by William Raspberry, (1982), under the caption: "Using Time To Fight Crime"

> D.C. Mayor Marion Barry has announced plans for an 88-member "career criminal squad." Chicago has a special Repeat Offenders Court (ROC). The common thesis behind the two approaches is that there is a very large number of criminals, and that the way to lower crime rates is to lock these criminals up. The D.C. plan, as

envisioned by Barry and Police Chief Maurice Turner, would employ a career criminal squad to "identify, arrest, and incarcerate" repeat offenders.

Chicago starts at the other end. The problem, according to Judge Richard J. Fitzgerald, who designed the program, was not that the career criminals weren't being arrested. The problem was that they were too seldom convicted and jailed. The solution: special courts to deal only with serious recidivists-felony defendants with at least two earlier felony convictions. According to an article in the April Reader's Digest, the Chicago approach is working: "ROC judges rarely set low bail: prosecutors rarely agree to reduce a charge. The time it takes to dispose of a case has been cut from as long as 18 months to an average of less than six months. So far, nine out of ten defendants either have pleaded guilty and 90 percent of these went to the penitentiary. The sentences in the three Repeat Offenders Courts tend to be long-on the assumption that it is the only way to protect the public, rehabilitation being only for forlorn hope. "It bothers me greatly to say this, but I warehoused him," one ROC judge was quoted as saying after he sentenced to 45 years a housebreaker who had beaten an old woman into unconsciousness. "There was no alternative. His pattern was one of increasingly heinous crime. For the protection of our citizens, he had to be removed from the streets." The theory, if not the specific approach, recalls the ideas that he could substantially reduce crime here if he could lock up the 300 or so repeat offenders who, in his view, were terrorizing the city. "What we need to do," Wilson once said, "is to concentrate on those few categories of criminals who have infringed so much on the freedom of our lifestyles in recent times." We need to prevent that class of crimes which cause people to bar the windows of their homes, which make citizens afraid to walk their streets at night, which force us to carry correct change if we want to ride the buses.

"Rape, robbery, burglary, of dwellings-if we can deter the criminals who commit those offenses (and related assaults and murders), then we can afford nearly unlimited experimentation with rehabilitation and community corrections for most perpetrators of other common forms of crimes." Wilson had another idea about these "career criminals" that the Chicago authorities seem to share: that the greatest rehabilitator of criminals is the passage of time. "The older they get, the more dried out they become," as Chicago's Judge Fitzgerald put it. "At age 55, a man is not hellbent any more. The disire to rape goes. He'll go on relief in preferences to pulling an armed robbery."

There is some evidence that the hard-edge criminal urge goes sooner than that: perhaps by the late 30s or 40s. If crime is a young man's career, then Draconian sentences are unnecessary.

"Relatively short terms of three to five years are probably sufficient for most offenders." Wilson believes - provided the sentences are actually served. But, first, you've got to catch them, which is what Marion Barry's 88 member career criminal squad is all about.

Fear, Fact, or Fantasy - The Impact of Sentencing Upon Cost-Benefit Considerations

The threat of crime as we the "citizenry" perceive it, is not often times accurately centered on those "existentially" involved in the commitment of acts deemed in conflict with the common good; but, in most instances, it is focused upon those who are convicted of such acts. Karl Menninger, whose foundation was responsible for an incalculable degree of influence on the diagnostic function of the Kansas Board of Probation when I was a member in the decade of the sixty's observed:

We cannot escape our responsibilities with vehement denials or with rhetoric and oratory, nor can we assume that offenders have not "rights." We do commit our crime, too.

...It was a brave and honest writer who, in reviewing the dreary Truman Capote record of one spectacular crime episode, began his article thus:

When I was 14, I committed a series of crimes that were apparently motiveless. Technically, they were acts of vandalism. Once at night I climbed into an unlocked car, found some camera equipment and broke it. Four times, during broad daylight, I broke into homes, wandered around the emptiness, searched through desks and bureaus, made a few messes and left. Once I found a bottle of whiskey in a drawer and emptied it onto a bed. I did other things I can't bring myself to mention even now, after 20 years. I was seen twice, once only a few seconds after I had entered the house. The woman had not answered the door because she didn't feel like it, but

right after I had expertly pried open a window and dropped to the hall floor, she came out and stared at me. I told her I had heard sounds and thought she might be in trouble. More talk, more lies, and I got away. I was not frightened for hours.

This, of course, is the point of my confession: I was not scared. Normally I was a cowardly little boy and when I went out on these obviously sexual eposiodes, I felt nothing. I did not even feel like a master criminal. I did not attempt to justify myself to myself. I just did them. Something came over me, and out I would go. But this calmness was a form of emotion, was an excitement beyond excitement, a feeling so powerful that it keyed all my reactions to their peak, gave me the ability to act, to escape when necessary, without panic or even fear.

But my mind. Where was my mind? Lost, I think, in the aura of madness, returning only later, when I would enter a frenzied hangover of terror and guilt. Only then would I realize, with increasing panic, that only dumb luck kept me from being caught. But the next time the feeling would come over me I would forget the guilt and the terror and to out again. My criminal career lasted only a few weeks, and then went away.

The fundamental issue is that the community's fear of crime and criminals, etc., is precisely that - FEAR! The individual who is convicted of a felony is in many instances not more or less a threat to your and my well being as the individual who lives with the secret thoughts of his own deeds and acts - his personal predicament. However, the economic implications are instructive:

Cost-benefit analysis figures are staggering. One source estimates that it costs a minimum of $10,000 per year to hold a convict in maximum security today, and that under proposed federal standards, the cost will sky rocket to $17,305 per year. Present construction costs range from $25,000 to $50,000 to build a single new cell under current guidelines. These costs will rise in coming years and are further magnified when one looks at the effect imprisonment will have on the convicted individual and his/her family, and, in turn, at what effect this will have on society as a whole.

> *Many studies have been done to determine what effect, if any, prison sentences have on the deterrence of potential criminal behavior. The results show that there is little or no effect. As examples: In California, after increasing the severity of punishment for people attacking police officers, the rate of attacks on Los Angeles officers rose from 8.4% per year to 15.8% per year.*
>
> *Another California study, geared to determine the public's knowledge of criminal penalties for illegal acts showed that the more criminal a person's behavior, the less likely the person was to be deterred by the knowledge of the penalties. Recently, William Nagel completed a comprehensive study of the fifty states, which showed that there is little or no relationship between a state's crime rate and incarceration rate rankings. (Jody Soper, cited in Jones' "Reducing the Human and Economic Cost of Crime", pp. 2, 3, 4).*

Against the backdrop of these observations, we project our overwhelming concern for violence - the tensions inherent in the "victim as victim," and the "perpetrator as victim." That the victim is taken as one of the determinants, and that a nefarious symbiosis is often established between the perpetrator and object, is at least, paradoxical.

Reconciliation

Where do we go from here in terms of educational and operational strategies? Firstly, justice systems must include the family as a primary and fundamental reference environment for the shaping and development of personality. From a behavioral field force perspective, the insights of kurt Lewin (1964) are most germane. Lewin observed:

> *The process governing the acquisition of the normal and adnormal are fundamentally alike...processes responsibile for the creation of inadequate visual images (illusions) and those which give rise to "adequate" visual images ("reality") are identical in nature. (page 57)*

Lewin is quite clear that personality change is a function of the re-educative process, the effect of which is reflected in three ways.

> The re-educative process affects the individual in three ways. It changes his cognitive structure, the way he sees the physical and social worlds, including all his facts, concepts, beliefs, and expectations. It modifies his valences and values, and these embrace both his attractions and aversions to groups and group standards, his feelings in regard to status difference, and his reactions to sources of approval or disapproval. And it affects motoric action, involving the degree of the individual's control over his physical and social movements.

Secondly, the miliew of the family must be viewed as the setting for the formulation of presenting symptons- the indicators of a type or series of behaviors which are a part of "a sequence of acts between several people." (Haley, 1976, p.2). The family as the primary social unit is the context for designing the appropriate interventions to address presenting symptoms. The interpersonal dynamics generated within the social unit are reflective or forces and factors within the unit and outside of the unit; the convergence of the ever present realities of the two environments.

Members of the family unit orient themselves "in characteristic ways toward other members" in order that they receive "from" and give "to" the ultimate bond of mutual support. (Schultz, 1966, ppx, 1). These configurations and strategies are indispensable to the survival and progress of a people, specifically those largely concentrated in the principal cities of this nation.

An Educational Strategy
the shaping of our concerns

The family, as the primary unit for socialization, must provide the fundamental framework for life's essential orientation. It is within this structure, the interactions among members and the sensitivity for a collective regard, that a geniuine sense of community emerges. The responsibility to understand, interprete and confront the world is key in the development of an indispensible set of strategies in the fulfilling of primary group accountability. That group must interprete the world of collective experience, define the essential qualities needed to appropriately confront that world and support it's members' socialization to achieve the personal character to negotiate its realities. The young men and women, the juveniles acting as "if" a mythical adulthood has been bestowed upon them, are born in a societal context totally processed by electronic information. The metaphor of a collective experience, the hallmark of an age, is casted in an electronically generated context. The present generation is an extension of a media oriented and processed society. Marshall McLuhan, is his "The Medium Is The Message", An Inventory of Efforts, observes:

> *"...electric circuitry, an extension of the central nervous system ... media, by altering the environment, evoke in us unique ratios of sense perceptions. The extension of any one sense alters the way we think and act - the way we perceive the world. When These Ratios Change, MEN CHANGE. (Mcluhan, pp 40, 41)*

Media tends to emerse the human sensorium, negate the engagement of mental dynamics and propel (message) meaning in an almost subliminal non intellectually driven manner. These young people tend to be decreasingly less literate, increasingly more babble or expressionionistic. Literate cultures were not absorbed or emersed within the messaging process of sense oriented communication. I, as a product of a pre electronically emersed culture, did not personally experience the occurence of a death in a non personal, public domain until achieving young adulthood - during the civil rights struggle of the 60's. The products of electric informational society have experienced the events of death and dying for more than a generation - on the five O'clock, 6:O'clock and 10:O'clock news as a steady diet! I submit that our concept of death shapes and defines the meaning of life. In the absense of a relevant concept of death, a meaningful understanding of life eludes the comprehension of senses and sanity. There needs to be a definitive process of re-education or re-socialization around the values and sensitivities of life and meaning - death and dying. It is going to be difficulty close to an impossibility for young men and women without literate society's compassion, sensitivity and regard for the sanctity of life to fathom the meaning of value in the behaviorally based performance for possession syndrome. The robbing of the victim,the selling of narcotics and the personal identification with material acquisition(s) will continue to displace an appropriate regard for value oriented actualization. Educational institutions must provide the reinforcement for

alternatives within legitimate society's traditionally legal methodology of provision and support. If it is a choice between working for McDonald's and receiving economic compensation somewhere, near or slightly above the minimum standards of wages., the decision becomes instructive. The sales and/or distribution of drugs elevate the participant to radically disporportionate heights on the scale of economic production and prosperity. The real issue, then, is one of proportionality-a question that addresses the fundamental concern around distribution. Our society, the government structures that initiate and respond to social and public policy issues must confront the difficult reality of porportionality in both ethical behavior and income. It's difficult to reconcile the ethical issue of the insiders' trade advantages of wall street brokers to income and the overwheleming denuciation of the capital excesses of drug trafficting - to crime. It is difficult to categorically base ethics on class standards without a fundamental focus upon behavioral consequences. These are social and public policy issues. They must be seriously confronted with a commitment to new insights, different approaches to specify and generalized resolutions. One of the approaches to the resocialization process for self-consciously committed individuals, caught within the throes of an environment set upon by many of the social, economic cultural and political factors , common to the drug/violent infested experience, is to identify support factors within and outside the framework of the barren

environment. The need is to:

- *identify supportive relationships that provide interaction around values common to the acceptance of legal and legitimate society. These value intentions would be focused within the framework of a realistic assessment of the world. One's personal perceptions tends to address issues germane to the individual's investment, and provide a framework for ultimate gratification.*

- *provide strategic recourse to influences beyond the immediate environment; focus patterns of association around positive identification of roles and responsibilities.*

Finally, the question. Why do some individuals respond to the same environmental dynamics and make life choices differently than others? The committed individual must propose policy positions that support data for success in modeling choices. Also, he or she must support value oriented consequences of decisions and discernment that identify patterns of positive reinforcement in the context of negative circumstances. This is where the key issue of economic redistribution is to be focussed! If Not, we are faced with the possibility of losing an entire generation.

Embracing An Economic Reality
An Educational - Socialization Issue

These economic factors; the absence of an appropriate definition of self worth; the negative disposition in primary group relationships; defective self images, and low self-esteem, are all - in sum or part -contributors to the exclusion of this group from the regular job or work experience.

They will remain the long term recipients of welfare, the sources of violent crimes and drug addiction. They will continue at once, to be the perpetrator and predatory, the equally devastating twins of the deteriorating Urban Scene - an emerging underclass.

> *In general, the underclass falls into four distinct groups, the hostile street criminals who are responsible for a disproportionate amount of violent crime; the hustlers who earn their living in the underground economy; the mothers for whom welfare dependency has become the only known way of life; and the traumatized, including the homeless former mental patients who wander city streets. But members of the underclass are not necessarily poor- street criminals and hustlers, for instance, usually are not, which brings us to a second characteristic that distinguishes the underclass: behavior. Whatever the cause -whether it is a fault of the people themselves or of society whether poverty is a cause or an affect-most students of poverty believe that the underclass suffers from behavioral as well as income deficiencies. Constructive behaviorists tend to use words like "pathology", "passivity" and "hostility" to describe the behavior of the underclass, whereas lineral determinists generally speak of the "despair" and "alienation" of this group-two sets of words that often mean the same thing. The members of the underclass are set apart, many students of poverty say, by their "deviant" behavior, and not just their poverty; they operate outside the mainstream of commonly accepted values. (Auletta, Nov. 16, 1981, pp. 95, 96).*

But the vision is clear, the call is unmistakable! Langston Hughes offers the haunting theme of this experience as if in dialogue with James Weldon Johnson's

> *"...stoney the road we trod bitter, the chastening rod, felt in the days when hope unborn had died"*
>
> *Hold fast to dreams! For if dreams die life is a broken winged bird that cannot fly.*

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